Volume 27, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1938

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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THIS ISSUE of the BULLETIN appears, contrary to the practice of several years past, just before the annual meeting instead of just after it. It is therefore possible to call the attention of members to the date and program. The meeting occurs at Friends' Meeting House, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, 11 mo. 28, 1938, at 8.15 p. m.; after the business meeting there will be an address by Henry J. Cadbury on "The Hangings at Boston (1659-1661): Motives and Sequels," and appropriate refreshments. Those expecting to attend are asked to notify the Chairman of the Entertainment Committee, Lydia F. Gummere, Shirly Court Apartments, Upper Darby, Pa.

PLANNED for this issue was an article on the publication of certain volumes of source material for Quaker historians and genealogists, including especially one British book, *Quaker Minute Book for the Upperside of Bucks, 1669-1690,* and two American works, the history of Hopewell Meeting, in Frederick County, Virginia, published as a bicentennial monument, and William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy.* The first volume of Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia* was referred to in the Spring Number of the BULLETIN; and it was hoped that the second volume would be published by this time. The magnitude and the complexity of the task proved too great, however, and publication has been delayed beyond our dead line. One of the causes of delay was the discovery, as the manuscript was about to go to press, of two large books of original minutes and records of Burlington Monthly Meeting which had been given up as irretrievably lost, but which now had to be incorporated into the other material. The excerpts from these books made up sixty-four pages of copy. The four locations covered in this volume are of especial interest to Philadelphia Friends—Salem, Burlington,

Falls, and Philadelphia. Those who have been privileged to see the first volume will look forward eagerly to the second. The Directors of Friends' Historical Association have subscribed to the first volumes, and have directed, since the Association has no facilities for storing reference books, that they be placed on loan with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

WHEN our leaders in Quaker scholarship leave us, it is fitting that we should review their scholarly careers and leave a record of their published work. Thus there was published in the BULLETIN, 9 (1920) : 94-99, an article headed "Contributions to a Bibliography of Isaac Sharpless (1848-1919)"; a tribute to Allen C. Thomas (1846-1920) published in the BULLETIN, 10 (1921) : 42ff contained a list of his books and more important articles; and a bibliography of Rayner W. Kelsey (1879-1934) appeared in the BULLETIN, 24 (1935) : 27-34. In the present issue is published a similar tribute to the scholarly work of Amelia Mott Gummere (1859-1937), prepared, like the preceding bibliography, by Anna B. Hewitt. As we look over the books, articles, and book reviews in these lists, we obtain some idea of the wide range of interest and study of our past leaders, and comprehend in greater degree, perhaps, the lasting zest and freshness of their own lives as we recall them.

OUR FRONTISPIECE is a new Heemskerk picture, which has come to William I. Hull's knowledge since the publication of the series of nineteen reproductions of Heemskerk's Quaker Meeting and its imitations published in our last issue. The picture itself, handsomely framed, now hangs in The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

THE QUESTION of whether the Quakers who settled Germantown were Dutch or German continues to be a live issue. William I. Hull's contention, developed in *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania,* that they were Dutch, has brought forth counterstatements. He has replied to his critics in an article in this issue; but the last word has probably not been said. A resumé of various books and articles on the subject is planned for the next issue.

ANOTHER HEEMSKERK'S "QUAKER MEETING"

By William I. Hull

SINCE the article on Egbert van Heemskerk's "Quaker Meeting" appeared in the last issue of the Bulletin (vol. 27 (1938), pp. 17-32), an opportunity came to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College—by means of the Lucy Biddle Lewis Fund of that Library, and through the courtesy of John L. Nickalls, Librarian of Friends House, London—to purchase another reproduction of this historic Quaker picture.

This is an oil painting, 26″ x 20″, and it resembles several of the nineteen imitations, engravings, and caricatures which were reproduced for the article mentioned above. Most of all it resembles the Bowles engraving, but it is not so fine a work of art as the original of that engraving must have been. In fact, this imitation of the original, like so many of the others, has obvious evidences of caricature. (See frontispiece.)

The Bowles engraving has one more figure (a man in the gallery) than the thirty-six in this painting; but otherwise the figures and their locations are the same. One improvement of the newly acquired painting over the engraving is a much finer view of the buildings which appear through the window—a view which strengthens my belief that the interior is that of Benjamin Furly's house in Rotterdam, and not of the Bull and Mouth meeting house in London.

The colors, which are red, brown, dark blue, and white, are subdued, but harmonious and fresh. Two of the men in the picture have quite bald heads—unlike the Bowles engraving, which shows only one, but very similar to the caricature owned by Charles F. Jenkins. The face of the woman preaching—who may be an interpreter—is not turned towards the alleged portrait of Fox, as in the Bowles engraving; but the supposititious portraits of Fox, Furly, Penn, Barclay, and other Quaker leaders on their organizing visit to Holland in 1677, are quite similar.

The painting is *attributed* to Heemskerk himself, but there is no certainty as to this; nor is there proof of its age. It was bought from a Russian exile in London, Commander Boris Averkieff, C. M. G., who is now a dealer in art. He says that it hung

ever since he knew it in a barber's shop in London, the proprietor of which told him that it had hung in the same place during the years before the World War, and that his father (the former proprietor of the shop) had received it from a client, either as a gift, or in payment of a debt.

The canvas on which it is painted shows signs of age on its back, and at some time it became necessary to reline it—a process which caused the loss of the man's picture noted above. There are small cracks on its face which also indicate, when examined under a microscope, evident signs of age; but how close it is to 1700 A. D.—Heemskerk's approximate date—is not apparent.

WHITTIER'S PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS IN 1838

By Thomas Franklin Currier[1]

IT IS a pleasure to serve this evening somewhat as a connecting link between Pennsylvania and Massachusetts on the occasion of this hundred-year anniversary of the exciting events that centered about the burning of Pennsylvania Hall on May 17, 1838, and it is appropriate because one of our Bay State citizens shared, that night, in the danger that threatened outspoken advocates of the rights of the slave. It is not necessary to explain that I refer to John Greenleaf Whittier, whose office as editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* was located in the burning building and who disguised himself in order that he might mingle freely with the mob and perchance rescue some of his most valuable papers from destruction.

A centennial celebration possesses a human element that is not present when we commemorate events that date much farther back than one hundred years. Of one hundred years ago it is possible for a few of us to say that our fathers and mothers were then boys and girls, and those here who are fortunate enough to be of a younger generation may substitute the words grandfathers and grandmothers and feel that they are closely linked with events that took place in the year 1838. When we go back to the times of our great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers and to bicentenary

[1] A paper read at Haverford College, May 17, 1938, under the auspices of the Thomas Shipley Foundation, on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia.

and tercentenary celebrations the mists of legend intervene to obscure so distant a past.

It is not my purpose this evening to recount, as might the professional historian, the intimate rôle played by John Greenleaf Whittier in those stirring events that took place in Philadelphia one hundred years ago, nor shall I make the attempt to sketch his life, nor to rival that brief biography said to have been produced by a Cambridge schoolboy who presented to his teacher the following masterpiece: "John Greenleaf Whittier was a Quaker. He was born in Haverhill. He never married—he hated slavery." As happens at times to many of us, the boy's facts were wholly correct—his implications misleading. What I hope to do in these brief and somewhat unsystematic notes is to call to your minds a vigorous and attractive young man, thirty years of age, who, early in the year 1838, came to Philadelphia from Amesbury, in Essex County, Massachusetts, my own father's boyhood town, to carry on the editorship of an antislavery paper which that pioneer abolitionist Benjamin Lundy had established here in your Quaker city. I wish also to present thumb-nail sketches of the members of a friendly, congenial, and cultivated circle of intimates which welcomed young Whittier into its midst. The persons whom I shall introduce to you seem like old friends to me because I have recently been perusing a collection of letters written to Whittier and his sister in the months following their leaving Philadelphia for New England early in the year 1840.

May I remind you, just here, that it was not the poet Whittier who came among you, but a Whittier who had gained reputation in Boston, Haverhill, Hartford, and New York as a newspaper editor, and who, some five years before, in the summer of 1833, had publicly allied himself with the cause of the slave by writing an essay to which he gave the title *Justice and Expediency*. This essay presented a vigorous plea for immediate emancipation of the slave and argued for immediate emancipation not alone on the grounds of moral justice but of economic expediency, from a Southern as well as a national standpoint. This essay was printed and distributed by Whittier at the expense of his own slender savings but was at once reprinted by the American Anti-Slavery Society and given wide distribution.

IN ORDER to realize what a very small part of his lifework as a poet had been accomplished by Whittier before 1838, look through the thin volume of his poems printed that year in Philadelphia. Only two or three titles are really familiar, for example *The Yankee Girl* and *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, and even these are probably scarcely known by the present generation. "Snow-Bound" was not to come for twenty-eight years; the familiar ballads, "Maud Muller," "Barbara Frietchie," and "Skipper Ireson's Ride," were futurities; none of the poems had been written that have become familiar hymns in the hymnals of so many denominations. No! the Eastern District Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society had not invited Whittier, the poet, to its aid in conducting the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, but a young man from Yankee-land who had been brought up on a farm in the beautiful Merrimac Valley, had cut himself loose from the heavy physical toil of following the plough and threshing the grain to sit in an editor's chair, first as a supporter of Henry Clay and the so-called "American System" with a Boston paper, the *American Manufacturer*, later in Hartford with the *New England Weekly Review*, and for two periods as editor of his home-town paper, the *Essex Gazette*. During his second term of editorship of the *Gazette* Whittier had put himself and his paper out of sympathy with a large number of his fellow townsmen by too pronounced and vigorous championship of the rights of the slave, and found it desirable to retire from the editorship. From the date of this retirement on his twenty-ninth birthday, December 17, 1836, until he came to Philadelphia early in 1838, that is a little more than a year, he had served as agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society and during the summer of 1837 had occupied an editorial desk at the headquarters of the Society in New York.

Your splendid Quaker collection here in Haverford possesses a miniature portrait of Whittier made at just this period. I beg you to study it with care, for it brings so vividly before us today the alert, earnest, and determined lineaments of the attractive visitor in your midst, who won his way into the esteem and the affection of Quakers and abolitionists in Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania. Two casual reminiscences bear out the impression gained from studying the miniature. A gentleman, writing much

later to Samuel T. Pickard, Whittier's biographer, says: "I can well remember the sensations created in Amesbury meeting, occasionally, as a tall, black-eyed, whiskered young gentleman, dressed in the correct and orthodox Quaker fashion of Philadelphia, flashed in upon us in the house of worship"; and Allen W. Dodge, a close friend of Whittier's, wrote in 1842: "Today I received a call here from Whittier, the Quaker poet—quite a dandy as to dress, which is in the neatest and prinkest Quaker style. He is a sensible fellow, and quite a poet."

These references to Whittier's dress call for a parenthetical comment, that Whittier retained the same Philadelphia tailor all through his life, writing to him whenever he needed a new suit and giving him the minimum of explicit directions. He would ask for "a plain coat of substantial black broadcloth, the measure the same as that sent thee a year ago or more, which I suppose thee still has in thy books." Sometimes he would add: "The one last year was a good fit," or he might say: "It might be well to have this a trifle looser—only a trifle, however."

Whittier, when he arrived in Philadelphia, found a number of relatives and old friends from home already living in this city. Records in the Friends' Record Office on Arch Street show that on the 26th of Seventh month, 1831, Anna A. Wendell and family were received at the Frankford Monthly Meeting from the Dover (N. H.) Monthly Meeting, and in April, 1832, she requested a certificate from the Frankford Meeting to the Philadelphia Southern Meeting. This Anna Wendell was Whittier's first cousin. Another relative, Samuel H. Whittier, was living near Philadelphia. Moreover, Whittier's old schoolmaster, Joshua Coffin, of Haverhill, had come to Philadelphia, and in 1825 one of the most intimate of Whittier's Haverhill friends, Abijah W. Thayer, had become one of the editors and proprietors of the *Commercial Herald*, a Philadelphia daily. Late in 1835 Thayer had written to Whittier urging him to come to Philadelphia to take up editorial work, and it is therefore easy to guess that Thayer was one of those who urged Whittier in 1838 to assume the editorship of Benjamin Lundy's paper.

The story has frequently been told of how William Lloyd Garrison visited the youthful Whittier in 1826 and urged him to

obtain an education. Far less has been said of Abijah Thayer's efforts to procure schooling for the gifted farmer boy, but it was Mr. Thayer's efforts that brought direct results. Thayer was twelve years older than Whittier, and after practical experience as a printer and then as a successful newspaper editor had taken over the *Haverhill Gazette* (later called the *Essex Gazette*). Mr. Thayer's daughter has left interesting reminiscent notes about her father from which I will quote as follows:

> Early in January, 1827, a young man entered the office of the *Haverhill Gazette and Essex Patriot,* of which my father had lately become the editor, and offered to him some verses with a timid request that he would look them over and say whether they were worthy of publication in his paper. . . . He looked at the bearer and saw a tall, slender youth, of fine face and figure, plainly but neatly dressed, waiting with an air of extreme diffidence. . . . When questioned about his opportunities for education, he said that he had never been to any but the district school in their neighborhood and his only reading had been the few books which had come in his way and their weekly newspaper. My father urged him by all means to secure for himself an education, a college education, if possible. Young Whittier replied that such an education would be beyond his means, and he could not consent for the sake of it to incur any pecuniary obligations. Besides, it would not be in accordance with the customs of his family, as his parents "held the Quaker rule." . . . [My father] lost no time in going to see [his parents] as Mr. Garrison had done a few months before, to urge upon [them] the importance of a college education for [their] son, but though Mr. Whittier was assured that if he would give his consent the necessary money would be furnished, my father was unsuccessful, as Mr. Garrison had been, so strong was the father's aversion to any departure from the usages of the Friends and his unwillingness to incur pecuniary obligations. [But] after several interviews it was finally agreed that his son should enter the Academy which was to be opened in Haverhill in the spring, and the mother, who had many anxious forebodings for the boy who had never lived away from home, gave her consent on condition that he might board in my father's family.

You see it was Mother Thayer who won the day by offering to take the lad into her own home.

Elsewhere in her reminiscences Sarah Thayer says that when Whittier first came to Philadelphia he made his home with the Thayers, who had now been living in the city almost three years; so, thanks to the cordial welcome of these old friends with whom he had so pleasantly lived while at the Haverhill Academy, his

coming to Philadelphia was almost in the nature of a home-coming; but he did not remain permanently with them. For the greater part, probably, of his residence in the city he boarded with Joseph and Rachel Healy at 72 North Seventh Street, above Arch. Joseph Healy was agent for the *Pennsylvania Freeman* and active in all antislavery doings. There were other boarders at the Healys, and their house must have been an active focus of abolitionism. However homelike the Healys' house may have been, it is sadly true that their cook was not a success. Writing twenty years later Whittier remarks: "I am far from indifferent to the good things of life, but I could live, if necessary, on the black broth of Sparta, or the oatmeal parritch of the Scotchman. I didn't board with Joseph Healy, with Sarah Jonathan for cook, so long for nothing. Henceforth I defy the fates in the shape of cookery." One toothsome New England dainty he missed at the Healys; it was squash pie. Sarah Thayer, in her reminiscences already quoted, writes regarding Whittier's fondness for this New England dish, as follows: "In Philadelphia [Whittier] said to my mother [*i. e.* to Mrs. Thayer]: 'I wish thee would send one of thy squash pies over to our family [*i. e.* the Healys]. They laugh at the New England squash pies—think they can't be eatable. I want to show them how good they can be.'"

AN ACCOUNT of the group of ardent abolitionists that gathered at the house of Joseph and Rachel Healy is not complete without emphasizing the presence of one who was a keen, intelligent observer and no mean participant in the exciting events of those days. I refer to Sarah Lewis, a teacher who was a fellow boarder with Whittier, and the daughter of Enoch Lewis, himself prominent in Quaker affairs and one of the early teachers at the Westtown School; it was Enoch Lewis who, in the year 1847, established the weekly Quaker paper *The Friends' Review*. Sarah was the third child of a large family, was born in June, 1806, and so was a full year and a half older than Whittier. The two were near enough of an age to feel a special zest in a friendship that came from an identical outlook on life and common interests and friends. Sarah's slight superiority in years gave her the right to advise and lecture Whittier as might an elder sister, and she

frequently took advantage of this privilege. There is no reason to imagine the slightest sentimental attraction between these good friends—on the contrary there is some evidence to show that Sarah did her best, apparently without success, to foster an engagement between Whittier and her own pupil and protegée, Elizabeth Neall, the motherless daughter of Daniel Neall, foremost among the Philadelphia abolitionists, and president of the Pennsylvania Hall Association. It was, by the way, to Elizabeth Neall that Whittier addressed those lines *To a Friend on Her Return from Europe*, which begin:

> How smiled the land of France
> Under thy blue eye's glance,
> Light-hearted rover!

To return to Sarah Lewis, it is appropriate here to remind you that it was Sarah Pugh and Sarah Lewis who offered their schoolroom for the adjourned session of the National Convention of American Anti-Slavery Women the morning after the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall, its series of meetings having been interrupted by the mob of May 17. The printed report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society refers to this episode as follows: "On that day [the day after the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall] the Convention held its closing session of six hours in a schoolroom which was occupied by two of our members. They who made a part of the thrilling history of those times well remember how the women of that Convention walked through the streets of this city, from the Hall on Third street, closed against them, to the schoolroom on Cherry street, hospitably opened to them by Sarah Pugh and Sarah Lewis, and were assailed by the insults of the populace as they went." The next year the anti-slavery women again held their convention in Philadelphia and this year Sarah Lewis was the presiding officer.

During a portion of the summer of 1839 Whittier was at home in Amesbury for rest and recuperation, and when he returned to Philadelphia in September he brought his sister Elizabeth with him for a long visit to their Wendell cousins. Elizabeth Whittier seems to have been an unusually vivacious and likable girl with much talent, and she shared her brother's keen sense of humor.

Elizabeth Lloyd (of whom more later) describes their first meeting as follows: "I recollect feeling perfectly delighted to find her a little *girl*, like myself, for I had expected to meet a great big Yankee *woman*"; and Mary Cox wrote later to Elizabeth Whittier: "Oh how I should like to see thee here once more, riding horseback and running races." You see Elizabeth was a modern girl as well as a poetess. She quickly made her way into the affections of the cultured and sympathetic circle that would seem to have gathered at the Wendells more frequently than elsewhere (since Cousin Ann Wendell was very much of an invalid); and unquestionably Whittier himself found rest and pleasure when mingling with this circle of intimates in those infrequent times when he could free himself from the pressing claims of duty. One of the group recalls, many years later, how he used to visit these cousins and tease them, for he was a tease. Ann Wendell's letter to Elizabeth Whittier gives a glimpse of how the cousins made merry, nursing him a year or so later when he fell ill while accompanying Joseph Sturge, the celebrated English abolitionist, on the latter's visit to Philadelphia:

> As for Greenleaf I don't know what kind of a tale he will tell about his visit to Philadelphia. I am afraid it will be rather a sad one for we treated him almost as bad as we could. Mother [did] him half up with mustard and hid him for two or three days at home, then he fled to Isaac's for refuge and they tried to nail him to the floor with carpet tacks. Somebody helped us rob him. I stole his snuff box and that he considered a great misfortune but I thought it was only a kindness to remove temptation out of his way lest he should resort to it too frequently. It was so much a consolation to him under the pressure of some severe trials.

PROFESSOR SNYDER has already made us acquainted with another member of this social circle, Elisabeth Nicholson, who so punctiliously preserved, in her two copy books, whatever of Greenleaf's writings she could procure. "Ever charming, ever new" is the way one of her friends describes her. A passage or two from one of her letters will reveal her sprightly and humorous way of commenting on the week's doings. Here is an extract from her letter to Elizabeth Whittier, written early in 1841:

> Our monthly meeting appointed a committee to visit delinquent members, and I could hardly help smiling to see how they gathered from

highway and hedge—the young engineer whose steam-engine had altogether engrossed him, the old doctor who had visited his patients in meeting time, the worldling who assured the Committee "he was orthodox when it was clear, but when it rained a Hicksite because he lived next door to Green Street Meeting House."

Still another letter from Elisabeth Nicholson tells humorously how she hid the recent number of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* from her father because she knew he would be irritated beyond reason by a communication sent in by Whittier—and then every visitor that day talked to her father about that same letter.

An energetic young Philadelphian, Benjamin S. Jones, was most assiduous in his attentions to these abolitionist young ladies. Jones was an ardent abolitionist himself, helped out at the anti-slavery office, attended all the conventions, serving at times as secretary, and wrote rather doubtful poetry of which he himself had a high opinion. One of his productions was a privately printed book of rhymes taking off the peculiarities of the local abolitionists in somewhat unsparing fashion. The book contained such gems as the following (in explanation of the first extract, it must be said that Whittier never spoke in public if he could possibly avoid it):

John G. Whittier, too!
Why how do thee do?
Are thee going to give us a speech?
I fear, Brother John,
If 'twas ever begun
The midway thou never coulds't reach.

Joshua Coffin, Whittier's old school-teacher, to whom I already have referred as then living in Philadelphia, was very much of an antiquarian and historian, and the appropriateness of the following lines is clear:

Come, Joshua, come,
Make thyself quite at home;—
What musty old book has thou got?

A very rare work
By Cid Hamet, the Turk,
At a bookstand I met with and bought.

And Lucretia Mott was not forgotten:

Like the serpent and dove
Thou hast wisdom and love;
Thy faith by thy deeds is shown forth.
Thy liberal mind
Claims of sect cannot bind;
Thy sect is the righteous of earth.

Joseph Healy, with whom Whittier boarded, is greeted thus:

Joe Healy, Joe Healy,
Speak quick and genteely
Whenever thy say must be said;
Put on some more steam,
Thy words should not seem
As from one half asleep or half dead.

Our account of the group of young friends must necessarily include a certain Elizabeth Lloyd, herself a writer of graceful verse, for there was on this account a natural bond of sympathy with Whittier. That she was personally most attractive is evinced by the charming portrait of her prefixed to the thin volume of Whittier's letters to her, published in 1922 by her grandniece, Marie V. Denervaud. Elizabeth Lloyd was particularly the friend of Elisabeth Nicholson and Ann Wendell. The three girls were, as might be expected, all enthusiasm over Whittier's work and writings and when he planned, a couple of years later, to gather a number of his poems for publication, he called on them to copy a few from the famous copybook or from newspaper clippings that they had saved. They undertook this task with energy and pleasure and forwarded the results to Amesbury, wrapped in a newspaper. The vicissitudes of this package of manuscript gave rise to much writing back and forth for several months, for the manuscript was not recognized as such when it came, was put aside, given up as lost, but at last discovered.

Elizabeth Lloyd wrote to Whittier in September, 1841:

We have taken great pleasure Greenleaf, in copying thy poetry and I hope the pieces thee named to us are not all that are to be republished. Do not forget "The Pharisee," "The Grave of Morgan," "The Thunder Spirit," "The White Mountains," "The Spirit of the North," "Worship," nor any of the grand old "Indian poetry." . . . We should consider it a pleasure to copy for thee, do not let that trouble be in the way of getting

up a complete edition of the poems. Thee had better look over what we have copied.

Then there is silence for five months until February 20, 1842, when Elisabeth Nicholson writes:

Thy recent letter to Ann says "thee has not heard from [Elizabeth Lloyd] or myself (save a paper) since thee wrote us!" Why *thy* last letter bears the date of last summer, and pray, what has become of all that "copy" . . . all written and sent immediately after his request. Did it ever arrive? And why did thee not say whether or not in thy letter to Ann. There seems a mystery . . . we are anxious to know whether our labor was lost.

Three days later Elizabeth Lloyd writes to Elizabeth Whittier:

And can it be possible you have never heard from us all this time? And did you never receive a packet, containing the poetry Greenleaf wished us to copy for him? . . .

But the package was still missing, and on April 5, six weeks later, Ann Wendell writes:

It was rolled—sealed with sealing wax at both ends. I do not see how it could be lost unless some careless person took it from Lynn or Samuel Boyce forgot it. . . . We have been promising ourselves that we should soon hear of the book all printed. I hope he did not give it up. Urge him to do it yet if he has not. E. L., E. N., & I could copy the pieces again I am sure and I could assist them. It would be a pleasure to us.

At last on April 11, Whittier himself writes to Elizabeth Lloyd:

Eureka! It is found! The package of MSS which thee and Elisabeth Nicholson were kind enough to copy for me is at hand. Some three months ago, when I was away, a bundle of papers came to the P. O. for me: so I was told. As the postmaster said they were sealed up at both ends, and that he should therefore not let me have them as so many papers, I paid no further attention to it, but left it as I had a hundred things of the kind before, to find its way to the General Post-Office. The other day I was in the P. O. and the postmaster put this package into my hands and said it was he believed, MS and not newspapers, and I saw at once thy handwriting. So that mystery is solved.

And then Elisabeth Nicholson saucily says the last word:

Does thee know we are so provoked with the ultimatum of that "Copy" —we have two consolations—1—that it was Greenleaf's own poetry that he had to pay for, and not an invoice of ours; 2ndly that it was a son of your own green land forwarded it.

AN INTERESTING budget of letters still exists which Elizabeth Lloyd addressed to Whittier, throwing considerable light on the pleasant friendship that existed between them. Elizabeth, from time to time, would send on one of her poems and at one time there was some discussion in regard to collaboration on a long poem that would depict the spirit of Quakerism. There is, however, time for me to read only one of these letters, and it reveals the girlish admiration that she had for him:

I have been looking this evening at a fine print of Henry Martyn. It recalled to my memory thy beautiful lines "The Missionary." And in taking down the volume which contains them, my thoughts have been going a long journey backwards, to the days when I trembled all over inside and out with the girlish hope and fear of meeting the author. Ten years have passed—and here in the very same apartment sit I, living over again tonight, every incident connected with the first possession of that book—the first morocco-ed and gilded edition of thy Poems, and looking over the shadows which in that period have crossed the bright, broad streak of light and joy through which my early womanhood glided.

That book—I remember perfectly well that I had no money to buy it when it first came out—for in my young days I was very improvident, and had always an empty purse before the next quarterly allowance became due. At length on a snowy day, with a five dollar note in my pocket and in fancy at least, rich as Croesus, I set off for Ben Jones little shop in Arch Street. (I was afraid to go to the Anti-Slavery Office.) Ben hadn't the book but he could get it for me. Off he went, cap and all, the memorable cap which was the occasion of such an effervescence at Nicholson's and I waited—waited—waited. At length he returned, with the cap in one hand (the wind had blown it off his head) and two books in the other—one a brown cover, and the other a green one.

First I chose the brown, then the green, and finally adhered to my first choice. I told him he need not wrap it up. I read it all along the street as I came home. As I approached our door I saw some company coming, who I knew would stay all day. Vexatious! thought I. So my wits prompted me to walk along very slowly and hold my umbrella down over my head until they were fairly into the house. Then I passed through the alley way, up into the house—and to my own room, unobserved. I shut the door, bolted it, and there, in midwinter, without a fire, read every poem in the book. I had to keep it all to myself—for a shy perception taught me J. G. W. and anti-slavery were under the ban in those days. . . .

ASIDE from sharing in the quiet pleasure of the group that I have introduced to you it is apparent that Whittier himself did not take part to any extent in the social life of the day in

Philadelphia. Abolitionists were not then lionized and a certain lack of robust physical health gave him little energy for anything outside of the line of duty. Pickard quotes Mr. E. M. Davis, a son-in-law of Lucretia Mott, as follows:

> It was difficult to give many incidents of Whittier's life in Philadelphia; he went so little into social circles, was so quiet, doing steadfast and indefatigable work on the paper, and on committees, a great amount of writing, but very little public speaking; his work was far more prominent than he was.

His duties, however, at times took him out of the city into the lovely country around Philadelphia and he became exceedingly fond of this region and its people. Some years afterwards he wrote as follows:

> I think the old Quaker settlements of Chester, Bucks, Delaware and Lancaster counties forty years ago were nearer the perfection of human society than anything I have since seen or had heard of before.

After Joseph Healy left Philadelphia to take to farming in the Cuttalossa valley, Whittier visited him there and we may imagine the pleasure he took roaming the countryside, occasionally hoeing his row in the cornfield, and retreating to his cool room in the old stone farmhouse (still in existence) to attend to his letters, rest from his day's exertions, or spend a quiet hour with books and papers.

Whittier's whole-hearted and unsparing devotion to his work resulted in Philadelphia as it had in Hartford eight years earlier when he had been forced to give up the editorship of the *New England Weekly Review* and return home to regain his health and strength. In like fashion, in February, 1840, his rather serious physical condition made it necessary for him to resign unconditionally the editorship of the *Freeman.* He must have been greatly discouraged at thus withdrawing from the front rank of the battle, and his disappointment is mirrored in the lines which he addressed to his good friend and fellow boarder, Sarah Lewis. The original of this autograph is preserved in your Haverford Quaker archives and was for the first time printed entire by Professor Snyder in the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION in the spring of 1936. I quote a few lines only:

Accept this tribute of a passing line
From this tired brain and weary pen of mine
Yet ask no brilliant gift—my rhyming day
Haply hath passed forevermore away:

. . . . . .

Yet a few days & I shall Eastward turn
Where on familiar hearths the home fires burn,
Where hill and tree and rock and river wear
A home-look—and the very Northern air
Sweeping from unthawed ices in its chill and
Arrowy keenness, speaks of "old time" still!
From Pennsylvania's green abundant vales—
From the warm breathing of her soft south gales—
From fr[ien]ds whose kindness to their stranger guest
Lives in a warm and ever grateful breast—
From toil, he trusts not wholly lost and vain,
The Yankee turns him to his home again!

There can be no better way of closing than by reading the resolutions that were passed by the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society on the occasion of Whittier's resignation as editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*:

At a meeting of the Ex. Com. of the Eastern Penn[a] Anti-Slavery Society held at Daniel Neall's on Tuesday evening the 17th of March 1840, the following Preamble & resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Whereas our friend & fellow laborer Jno. G. Whittier has been obliged by the delicate state of his health to retire from his place as Editor of the "Penn[a] Freeman"; and whereas an occasion is thus afforded us of publicly expressing the sentiments which while he was present with us a proper sense of delicacy obliged us to cherish in private, therefore,

Resolved, that this committee have submitted with the deepest regret to the necessity which deprives us of the presence & cooperation in his capacity as editor, of our beloved friend John G. Whittier.

Resolved that in the discharge of his duties as editor of the Freeman, and in all his labors among us in the cause of emancipation, as well as in the private walks of social life our friend has acquitted himself in such a manner & manifested such a spirit as to enhance our admiration of his talents, strengthen our confidence in his discretion, to renew our regard for his singleness of heart & purity of purpose, and to bind us to him by ties of the strongest friendship.

Resolved, that our best wishes attend him during his retirement with our earnest desires for the renewal of his health and his restoration to

the field of labor in the cause to which he has already rendered such invaluable aid.

Resolved that as a testimony of our confidence & esteem Jno G. Whittier be appointed to represent the Penna A. S. Society (E. Dist.) in the convention to be held in London on the 12th of June 1840.

Attest Danl Neall, *Chn. Ex. Com.*
Haworth Wetherald, *Secy.*

FREE QUAKER MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By Arthur J. Mekeel

THE ADVENT of the War for American Independence brought tensions and alterations to all aspects of American life, religious as well as political and economic. Despite their exclusive manner of living, the Society of Friends shared in these repercussions, one result of which was the splitting off of a small portion of the Society to form a religious organization of its own. This group was known as the Free Quakers. Previous studies of this movement [1] have confined themselves to Philadelphia, but Friends elsewhere were similarly affected, though in varying degrees. In both Maryland and New England some members broke away from the parent body, especially in the latter section. In the middle provinces the division was caused by a disagreement over the question of defensive warfare, while in New England it was precipitated by a dispute over the payment of taxes to the revolutionary governments.

[1] The printed works on this subject are: Charles Wetherill, *History of the Religious Society of Friends Called by Some the Free Quakers, in the City of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1894; Webster King Wetherill, "The Fighting Quakers," in the *Proceedings* of the Philadelphia Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, xxix (1921), 69-81; and Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, Philadelphia 1902, Part Two, ch. ix, entitled "The Free Quakers." The chief source material is contained in the *Papers Relating to the Free Quakers* in the records vault at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This last item comprises a MS copy of their *Minutes* and sundry correspondence of Quaker and Free Quaker leaders on the subject. It has also been published in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), li, 87 ff.

The central figure in the New England controversy was Timothy Davis of Rochester, Massachusetts, a member of Sandwich Monthly Meeting and for some years previously influential and active in the affairs of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England. As a prominent Friend he made visits of a religious nature to Pennsylvania and North Carolina in the latter part of 1771 and the early months of 1772.[2] At the beginning of the conflict between the mother country and the colonies his position was orthodox as far as the attitude taken by Friends was concerned. In October, 1774, he wrote to his friend Israel Pemberton of Philadelphia:

> The State of affairs appear with a very threatening Aspect: there are great hostile preparations both by the Soldiery and country in general but I think Frds. in general in our parts have been preserved from being active on either side and it is a great satisfaction to me they have kept as clear as they have. I hope they may be preserved in a state of quietness for the future, for I think our strength will be to stand still.[3]

With the outbreak of active warfare a question which assumed great importance was whether Friends could pay taxes to the new governments and be consistent with their testimony of peace. It was generally agreed that levies for war purposes only could not be paid, but on the matter of mixed taxes there was considerable difference of opinion. Some however clung to the position that all manner of taxes should be paid, with the exception of priests' rates, and the argument that one should "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's" was frequently quoted.

As early as July, 1775, an anonymous letter on taxation was addressed to Moses Brown of Providence. It argued for paying all taxes to the revolutionary authorities, pointing out that Friends

[2] Chester Quarterly Meeting *Minutes*, 1756-1812, entry for 8 mo. 12, 1771; Western Quarterly Meeting (North Carolina) *Minutes*, 1760-1900, pp. 84-85, entries for 2 mo. 8, 1772, 5 mo. 9, 1772. All minutes cited are in manuscript form. Those for New England are in the vault at the Moses Brown School, Providence, Rhode Island; those for Pennsylvania are in the records vault at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., and those for North Carolina are in the vault of the Library, Guilford College, Guilford College, North Carolina.

[3] Timothy Davis to Israel Pemberton, 10 mo. 24, 1774, in the Pemberton Papers at the Pa. Hist. Soc., xxvi, 184.

in England in the previous century had paid them regardless of the various changes of government, excepting those only of a religious nature. Declaring that any persons receiving benefits for a government should share in its expenses, it said:

> . . . let a man be under any form of Government that he can imagine to himself, where he received any advantage by it, and while he remains under it, he ought to bear his proportion of the charges of it . . . [for] if we receive advantage from civil Government, we ought to bear our part of the charge of maintaining it, or else have no recourse to it in any case whatever.[4]

The writer further maintained that it could not be helped if rulers used force in defensive measures.

Later the same year Timothy Davis published a pamphlet entitled *A Letter from One Friend to Some of his Intimate Friends on the Subject of Paying Taxes.*[5] This followed the same line of argument as the letter to Moses Brown. In defending his thesis the author referred to the writings of George Fox, Isaac Pennington, and other seventeenth-century Quakers. There seems little doubt but that both the former supported the payment of all taxes but priests' rates.[6]

[4] Anonymous to Moses Brown, 7 mo. 16, 1775, in the Moses Brown Papers at the Rhode Island Hist. Soc., ii, 40.

[5] This was published by Benjamin Edes at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1775. The only copy known to be in existence is in the Ridgeway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[6] The discussion on this subject seems to have been widespread. In 1778 Isaac Grey of Pennsylvania published at Philadelphia a *Serious Address to Such of the People Called Quakers on the Continent of North America as Profess Scruples relative to the Present Government.* A copy of this is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It also harked back to pronouncements of the seventeenth century, quoting Robert Barclay, Samuel Bownas, Thomas Story, and others. Two years later Job Scott of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, wrote *A Truly Conscientious Scruple* on the question, taking an extreme stand against even the payment of mixed taxes. This was not published, and the manuscript, sent by the New England Meeting for Sufferings to the corresponding body in Philadelphia for its opinion as to the advisability of publication, is now in the records vault at 302 Arch Street in Philadelphia. Anthony Benezet and Moses Brown corresponded on the subject. The former wrote an essay on the payment of taxes for war which Moses Brown sent to Timothy Davis (Moses Brown Papers, iii, 38). At the same time the various Yearly

THE GROUP of Friends in Pennsylvania and New England who were opposed to the position taken by the Society at large felt that its action in continuing to recognize the previous régime as the rightful one and failing to support the new govern-

Meetings issued advices for the guidance of their members with regard to the payment or nonpayment of such levies.

After the war Joseph Taber of Sandwich Monthly Meeting, by that time disowned as a follower of Timothy Davis, published *An Address to the People Called Quakers* (Boston 1784) in defense of Davis's position. A copy of this is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. In this treatise the author refers to the pamphlets of Timothy Davis, Isaac Grey, and seventeenth-century Quakers. One item quoted by Taber, and generally by those who were of like mind, was an epistle of George Fox written in 1659 and found in his *Works* (New York and Philadelphia, 1831) vii, 168-169, which advised:

> All Friends everywhere, who are dead to all carnal weapons, and have beaten them to pieces, stand in that which takes away the occasion of Wars. . . . And as for the rulers, that are to keep peace, for peace's sake, and for the advantage of truth, give them their tribute. But to bear and carry carnal weapons to fight with, the men of peace, (which live in that which takes away the occasion of wars,) they cannot act in such things under the several powers; but have paid their tribute. Which they may do still for peace sake, and not hold back the earth, but go over it; and in so doing, Friends may better claim their liberty. (Quoted in Taber's *Address*, 34.)

The citation from Penington is even more definitive (*Works,* 2d edn., London 1761, i, 444,448). It declares:

> Magistracy was intended by God for the defence of the people; not only of those who have ability, and can fight for them, but of such also who cannot, or are forbidden by the love and law of God written in their hearts so to do. . . . I speak not against any Magistrates or People's defending themselves against foreign invasions, or making use of the sword to suppress the violent and evil-doers within their own borders (for this *the present state of things may and doth require*, and a great blessing will attend the sword when it is borne uprightly to that end, and its use will be honourable; and while there is need of a sword, the Lord will not suffer that government, or those governors, to want fitting instruments under them for the managing thereof, who wait on him in his fear to have the edge of it rightly directed), but yet there is a better state, which the Lord hath already brought some into, and which nations are to expect and to travel towards. (Quoted in Taber, *An Address*, 34-37.)

ments was inconsistent with their traditional principles. In January, 1775, the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia published *The Testimony of the People Called Quakers*, asserting their determination "to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King as supreme magistrate" and their firm opposition "against every usurpation of power and authority . . ., and against the combination, insurrections, conspiracies and illegal assemblies." [7] It was such pronouncements that determined Timothy Davis to publish his essay without reference to the New England Meeting for Sufferings, one of whose duties was to censor the writings of any Friend bearing on the testimonies of the Society, and intended to be published.[8]

Early in 1776 Samuel Gould, a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, received a letter concerning Timothy Davis's pamphlet from Caleb Greene, who was concerned with the printing of it. This was read at one of the sessions of the Meeting, and although the author was as yet unknown, there was grave suspicion of Davis's responsibilities and Greene's complicity. Committees were appointed to treat with them and any others involved, and to endeavor to suppress the distribution of the pamphlet lest it "have a Tendency to suppress Tender & Religious Scruples, in the Minds of those who are or may be exercised respecting the payment of Taxes, for the purposes of War . . ." [9] About the same time Moses Brown wrote to James Pemberton in Philadelphia, urging that the latter's brother Israel, a close friend of Timothy Davis, communicate with him on the subject.[10]

Meanwhile the committees appointed to visit [11] the offending parties had secured acknowledgments of their complicity in the affair. Caleb Greene promised to stop the circulation of the publication, and Davis was invited to attend the Meeting for

[7] Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, *Minutes*, i, 446-48, entry for 1 mo. 24, 1775.

[8] Taber, *An Address*, 21.

[9] New England Meeting for Sufferings, *Minutes*, i, 34-35, entry for 3 mo. 12, 1776.

[10] Moses Brown to James Pemberton, 4 mo. 30, 1776, in the Pem. Pap., xxix, 32.

[11] New England Meeting for Sufferings, *Minutes*, i, 35, 40, entries for 4 mo. 10 and 5 mo. 13, 1776.

Sufferings and give an explanation of his action.[12] The latter failed to appear, and another committee visited him in company with Samuel Emlen, John Pemberton, David Ferriss, and John Perry, who were on a religious visit to New England from Philadelphia at that time.[13] But despite their concern these Friends were unable to move Timothy Davis from the position he had taken, and the Meeting for Sufferings then turned the matter over to Sandwich Monthly Meeting, requesting it to issue a testimony against him.[14]

Before proceeding further the Monthly Meeting sent a committee to interview Davis. Several months later this committee reported that he could not find freedom to condemn his piece and that they could see no breach of the Society's testimony in it and recommended that the Meeting pass it by.[15] The members of the Meeting could reach no agreement on this recommendation, and it was decided to lay the situation before the Quarterly Meeting.[16] The Quarterly Meeting followed the same procedure as the Monthly Meeting with no better success, and consequently the whole problem was laid before the ensuing Yearly Meeting, which met in June, 1778,[17] and took the whole difficult matter under consideration.

After conferring with the Friends from Sandwich Quarter, the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to act in the affair recommended that a testimony be issued against Timothy Davis's pamphlet and that his Monthly Meeting deal with him as a transgressor.[18] A testimony was accordingly drawn up and issued.[19] At the same time, because of the apparent division in Sandwich Monthly Meeting, a committee was appointed to visit both the

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[12] *Ibid.*, 41.

[13] *Ibid.*, 46, entry for 6 mo. 18, 1776.

[14] *Ibid.*, 50, entry for 8 mo. 12, 1776.

[15] Sandwich Monthly Meeting *Minutes*, 1755-1795, entries for 3 mo. 7 and 28, 1777.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1 mo. 2, 1778.

[17] Sandwich Quarterly Meeting *Minutes*, 1686-1804, 96, 3 mo. 28 and 5 mo. 1, 1778; Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, *Minutes*, 1683-1787, 329.

[18] New England Yearly Meeting *Minutes*, 1683-1787, 329.

[19] *Ibid.*, 329-330.

Quarterly and Monthly Meetings there and confer with Timothy Davis and his followers.[20]

As a result of this action the Monthly Meeting again took up the matter and finally disowned Timothy Davis.[21] The latter then began holding meetings with his sympathizers, and by the middle of 1779 reports of disturbances on the part of the dissenters at Acushnet and other parts of Rochester Preparative Meeting were received by the Monthly Meeting.[22] A committee appointed to interview the offenders found that twenty-nine Friends were attending Timothy Davis in his public services.[23] The Monthly Meeting then began what might be called a purge of those siding with Davis and participating in his meetings. Consequently thirty-five Friends were dealt with, of whom all but five were disowned. These were George Allen, George Braley, Benjamin Bumpus, Nathan Davis, Jr., Nicolis Davis, Richard Davis, Abraham Devol, William Eastis, Barhabas Hammet, Stephen Hathaway, Isaac Hiller, Moses Hiller, Seth Hiller, Seth Hiller, Jr., Mark Jenne, Savory Londes, Stephen Merrihu, Lectious Runnels, Silas Swift, Bartholomew Taber, Benjamin Taber, Joseph Taber, Peter Taber, Thomas Taber, Jr., William Taber, Peleg Trip, Barnabus Wing, Jr., Daniel Wing, Josephus Wing, and William Wing.[24] Those supporting Timothy Davis at first and later retracting were Enos Bourman, Nathan Davis, Silvanus Swift, Stephen Trip, and Paul Wing.[25]

The only other Monthly Meeting which seems to have been similarly affected was Dartmouth in Rhode Island Quarter. There Caleb Hathaway, Joshua Sherman, Jr., Amaziah Smith, Eleashib Smith, John Smith, Joseph Smith, Edward Taber, William Taber and wife and daughter, and Nicholas Taber were disowned.[26]

While these proceedings were going on, Moses Brown, who was well acquainted with Timothy Davis and had already corre-

[20] *Ibid.*, 330.

[21] Sandwich Monthly Meeting *Minutes*, 1755-1795, 12 mo. 4, 1778.

[22] *Ibid.*, 6 mo. 4, 1779.

[23] *Ibid.*, 9 mo. 30, 1779.

[24] *Ibid.*, *passim* 3 mo. 29, 1780 to 2 mo. 1, 1782.

[25] *Ibid.*, *passim* 3 mo. 24, 1780 to 10 mo. 3, 1783.

[26] MS copy of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting *Minutes*, 1770-1792, *passim* 143-201, 7 mo. 20, 1778 to 3 mo. 19, 1781.

sponded with him relative to the disagreement between himself and Friends, made him a visit in company with John Lloyd of Philadelphia. He communicated to him Anthony Benezet's view of the matter, but despite this and his own arguments was unable to change Davis's opinions.[27]

Meantime the committee of the Yearly Meeting to investigate the situation in Sandwich Quarter advised an addition to it because of its weakness. The Yearly Meeting finally decided to transfer the Monthly Meetings of Nantucket, Dartmouth, and Acoakset from Rhode Island to Sandwich Quarter, and a committee was directed to confer with these Meetings on the subject.[28] At its session the following year, 1781, the Yearly Meeting ordered that this plan be carried through with regard to Nantucket Monthly Meeting,[29] though the other two were not similarly acted upon until 1788.[30]

AS IN Philadelphia, so in New England, the question of property rights soon arose. George Allen, one of the disowned, had formerly been Register of Sandwich Monthly Meeting. Previously to his disownment he had been removed from this position but refused to surrender the records.[31] Finally, after several attempts on the part of the Meeting to obtain possession of them, he turned them over to one of the members, and at the same time [32] the seceders proceeded to hold meetings in the meeting houses where they had formerly belonged, and often simultaneously with Friends. Rochester and Long Plain sent up complaints to the Yearly Meeting that they were often interrupted on Sundays in this manner.[33] At Acushnet the problem was

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[27] Moses Brown to Anthony Benezet, 10 mo. 2, 1780, in George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, Philadelphia 1937, 429-435; see especially page 431.

[28] New England Yearly Meeting *Minutes*, 1683-1787, 341 (1780).

[29] *Ibid.*, 354.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1788-1819, 4.

[31] Sandwich Monthly Meeting *Minutes*, 1755-1795, 5 mo. 3, 1780; Moses Brown to James Pemberton, 5 mo. 22, 1782, in Pem. Pap., xxxvi, 121.

[32] *Ibid.*, 12 mo. 5, 1783.

[33] New England Yearly Meeting *Minutes*, 1683-1787, 363 ff. (1782 and following years).

solved by partitioning off the eastern half of the meeting house for their use.[34] Meanwhile, the leaders of the dissenting group, through one of their friends who was a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, sent up to it a petition regarding their claims on meeting-house property. The General Court, however, took no action further than returning a sympathetic answer.[35]

Throughout the controversy the New England seceders were in close touch with the Free Quaker group in Philadelphia. Timothy Davis was in frequent communication with them, and with some of his followers visited those in Philadelphia. By the middle of 1781 a monthly meeting had been established at Dartmouth by his party, a letter from them being read in the monthly meeting of Free Quakers in Philadelphia in August of that year. As a result of this the latter appointed a committee of correspondence consisting of Isaac Howell, Samuel Wetherill, and four others, to communicate officially with their brethren in New England.[36] Letters were sent both to the new monthly meeting at Dartmouth and to Timothy Davis, as well as a copy of the Free Quaker *Discipline*.[37]

The New Englanders did not entirely approve of the new *Discipline*. They objected chiefly to the method of admitting new members and the refusal to disown for deviations of any kind. In their reply to Philadelphia they said:

> . . . That which chiefly engaged our attention as being new was you extending your views towards the disowned without exception, as expressed by our Frd Saml Wetherill Jnr in his last letter to Timothy Davis, and secondly on your admitting Members upon their appearing of good Character only, and lastly your concluding never to disown any. Whether you meant to indulge such preachers, as may appear among you

[34] Mary Jane Howland Taber, *Friends Here and Hereaway*, in Old Dartmouth Historical Society *Proceedings*, December, 1904, page 18.

[35] New England Meeting for Sufferings, *Minutes*, i, 191, entry for 9 mo. 17, 1783; Moses Brown to James Pemberton, 9 mo. 19, 1783, in *Papers Relating to the Free Quakers*.

[36] MS copy of the *Minutes* of the Monthly Meeting of Free Quakers in Philadelphia in *Papers Relating to the Free Quakers*, 8 mo. 6, 1781.

[37] *Ibid.*, 9 mo. 3, 1781. A copy of this *Discipline* is in the *Papers Relating to the Free Quakers*.

to propogate such Doctrines and opinions as they please, we have not yet learnt, nor are we very easy to believe. If it should be the case, perhaps you may sometimes hear very disagreeable things, such as some of us have for conscience's sake, been obliged to separate ourselves from some other Societies on account of . . .[38]

The following year Timothy Davis and Cornelius Wing visited their brethren in Pennsylvania.[39] While there they held meetings in Philadelphia, at Springfield and Richland, and at Deer Creek and West River in Maryland.[40] Samuel Wetherill, Jr., accompanied them on their journey into Maryland.[41] On their return to New England, Moses Brown informed James Pemberton that in his opinion the separatists there "depended much upon the report brought back of the standing of the disowned body amongst you," and he believed that "if T. don't get strength amongst you they would grow weak & finally cease their claim & with holding our meeting House & records. . . .[42]

THOUGH the seceders in New England had set up a monthly meeting, they did not prosper as hoped. In the spring of 1783 Moses Brown again wrote to James Pemberton that those at Long Plain had altered their time of meeting and no longer interfered with the meetings of Friends, and that Nathan Davis, Timothy's brother, had left the latter's meeting and requested to be restored. At Rochester, however, conditions remained the same, "there being a Wordy Preacher carries the multitude,[43] tho' that is not large, which the faithful few has to suffer—Tim^{y} Met with no Incouragement from your Disowned Members they not appearing in the Light he Expected. . . ." [44] But the group con-

[38] *Ibid.*, 12 mo. 1781.

[39] *Ibid.*, certificates of Timothy Davis and Cornelius Wing dated Rochester 3 mo. 4, 1782.

[40] *Ibid.*, James Pemberton to Moses Brown, 6 mo. 5, 1782.

[41] *Ibid.*, certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Free Quakers in Philadelphia recommending Samuel Wetherill, Jr., 3 mo. 11, 1782.

[42] *Ibid.*, Moses Brown to James Pemberton, 5 mo. 22, 1782.

[43] This was probably Benjamin Bumpus, who was their leading minister.

[44] Moses Brown to James Pemberton, 4 mo. 21, 1783, in Pem. Pap., xxxviii, 131.

tinued on for several years. As late as 1802 Samuel Wetherill, Jr., received a certificate from the Free Quaker Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia to visit their brethren in New England.[45] After that nothing is heard of them.

IN assessing the role and influence of these separatists we find they had little or no effect on the course of the Society at large. There is indication that there were many Friends who had strong sympathies with the colonial cause, though most were unwilling to go as far as their seceding brethren. Those in New England held nearer to the traditional tenets of the Quaker group than the dissenters in Pennsylvania, and sincerely believed that they were following the testimonies of the Society more closely than the main body.

In the controversy evoked by their action the questions of government and payment of taxes were interdependent because of the fact that the new governments came into being as a result of war. In New England, however, it was generally agreed that civil taxes could be paid, and the payment of mixed taxes was left up to the individual, though distraints for the refusal to pay such were considered as sufferings. In Pennsylvania, on the other hand, there was doubt as to the consistency of paying any taxes.[46] The difference of opinion can be accounted for by the fact that in the former provinces the old popular government continued on, merely abjuring the authority of the King, while in the latter there was a complete revolution in government. There the proprietary authorities and the old Assembly, under which they had erected their commonwealth, and which was largely controlled by the Quakers for many years, were overthrown.

Because of the less extreme position of Friends in New England the division there was smaller in proportion than in Philadelphia, and those who did leave the Society did not depart so far from its basic principles.

[45] This certificate, dated 6 mo. 17, 1802, is in the *Papers Relating to the Free Quakers.*

[46] In 1778 a query as to paying road and poor taxes was sent up to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting from Chester Quarter (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting *Minutes*, iii, 400).

THE DUTCH QUAKER FOUNDERS OF GERMANTOWN

By William I. Hull

THE evidence presented (and scattered through 426 pages) in my book on *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*[1] shows that Germantown's founders were not German Mennonites but Dutch Quakers. The theory that Germans were the first settlers of the town had been long accepted without question, and I was myself surprised by the inescapable conclusion of this evidence. When I was writing the book, it did not once occur to me that this conclusion would be a cause of offense to people of German blood; but, even had it been so, the historian must accept "truth for authority, and not authority for truth."

Among the reviews of the book by English and American writers, I have not seen one which disputes the conclusion; but German and German-American reviewers have denounced it and its author as having attempted to steal from the Germans in America their most cherished historic belief in Germantown as their "nursing mother," in which and from which the spring of German culture arose and spread in the United States. It seems to be in their opinion as intolerable a theft as if some Dutch writer should take from the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock and give to the Dutch of New Netherland the glory of having started the stream of Puritanism flowing over New England and thence throughout our country.[2]

If the personal equation is to decide the question, it might be argued that since the German immigrants in America were overwhelmingly more numerous than the Dutch, and achieved many notable triumphs in various phases of American life, their historians should be content with these, and should not try to deprive the Dutch of their one ewe lamb—at least in Pennsylvania history. But there is glory enough to go around; and at

[1] No. 1 of the Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History; 1935.

[2] One German historian (Friedrich Nieper), however, would push the German claim far back of Germantown in 1683, to Gustav Adolf's settlement on the Delaware in 1638.

various places in my book, cordial praise and full credit are given to the Germans—in so far as space and the treatment of a different subject would admit—for the part which they *did* play in our history.[3] This part was played, however, after 1709, a quarter of a century after the Dutch had founded Germantown.

But personal and nationalistic considerations cannot sway the historian, who must hew as best he may to the line of truth, leaving the chips to fall where they may. Let us, then, consider the question on the basis of historic evidence.

It is unnecessary in this place to cite and reply to all the reviews and editorials which have come to the author from German sources. But since two of my good German friends (and fellow Friends), Wilhelm Hubben and Alfons Paquet, have stated the main objections which have been advanced from what may be called for the sake of brevity the pro-German point of view, this article will be devoted to a consideration of them. They have been stated, by Wilhelm Hubben in the BULLETIN of the Friends' Historical Association (vol. 27 (1938, No. 1), p. 35) and by Alfons Paquet in *Der Quäker* (xv, 6 (June 1938), p. 180). It need scarcely be said that only the utmost friendliness has marked their criticism, and that this reply to them is conceived in the same spirit.[4]

These objections and the answers to them relate to the Rhenish city of Krefeld, and are of two kinds, namely geographical and political, and linguistic.

From the geographical and political point of view, the founders of Germantown came from the valley of the Rhine River, which, according to super-patriotic Germans of the nineteenth century, is not Germany's boundary, but Germany's river. The settlers of Germantown who came direct from Holland were also from the Rhine valley. Krefeld was in that part of the valley which was inhabited by those Teutons who, after the Treaty of Verdun in

[3] Cf. especially pp. 386-92.

[4] A Krefeld critic of another type, Dr. D. Cattepoel, Wilhelm Hubben says, "finds it hard not to grow too angry when he states that Hull's tendency in 'William Penn' is to minimize the share of the Germans in building up America"; this is, I regret to say, the attitude of mind of other German critics.

843 A. D., were called East Franks for about a century, when Otto I, a Saxon king of the East Franks, established the Holy Roman Empire (962). The Holy Roman Empire lasted until 1806, and developed into a loosely organized confederation of scores of self-governing lands and peoples, of which the Archduchy of Austria under its Habsburg rulers was the dominant power.

Meanwhile, Krefeld had come under the rule of William the Silent, Prince of Orange (a small region in southeastern France), and followed him into secession from the Spanish rulers of the Holy Roman Empire in 1579 and united with the seven provinces of Holland, with William I, or "the Silent," as Stadholder. William the Silent's great-grandson became William III of Holland (1672) and of England (1689), ruling over his Rhenish and English subjects until his death in 1702. Thereupon Krefeld and neighboring lands were annexed to Prussia, which had been established as a kingdom in 1700, and which was to create, 171 years later, the first genuine German Empire.

These successive political names given to the region of Krefeld did not make its inhabitants either Romans, or Franks, or Austrians, or French, or Spanish, or Dutch, or English, or Prussians. As a matter of fact, during the migration of the Krefelders to Germantown in 1683, they were ruled by the stadholder of Holland; and if political allegiance determines nationality, they were Dutchmen.[5] And if local habitation determines nationality, they were simply Rhinelanders; and they might have claimed, as did the Alsatians before the World War: "Nous ne sommes pas Français, nous ne sommes pas Allemands, nous sommes Alsaciens." But what is in a name? Neither political allegiance nor geographical habitat determines what people themselves are, especially in an age and country, as in the Rhineland in the seven-

[5] Speaking of a sentence on my page 179 ("In nationality, that is, in origin, language, and customs, the Krefelders were Netherlanders"), Wilhelm Hubben admits that "ardent patriots as all of them [*i. e.* the German critics] are, . . . they would find themselves in perfect agreement with Dr. Hull if he would phrase the sentence in dispute on p. 179: 'In nationality, the Krefelders were *at the time of their immigration* Netherlanders.'" (The italics are his.) I fully agree with this; for it was of precisely this period that I wrote.

teenth century, when the personality of the law was only slowly yielding to the modern conception of its territoriality.

When the Krefelders came to Pennsylvania, they brought neither their land nor their government with them. They were seeking a livelihood and freedom in a new world, and little cared they for *names*. One of the anomalies in Pennsylvania history is the fact that a town founded by the Dutch was called "*German*-town," and large districts in Pennsylvania settled by the Germans, together with their language, literature, and customs, were called "Pennsylvania *Dutch*."

Looking, then, at the Krefeld emigrants as individual human beings, we see that they were descended from Dutch Mennonite ancestors who had come into the district from Holland during three generations before the emigration to America, and especially during and after the Thirty Years' War. Some of them, indeed, had resided there only about as long before their emigration as the Scrooby pilgrims had resided in Amsterdam and Leyden before their departure for America; and certainly we should no more call the Pilgrims *Dutchmen* because of that residence than we would call the Dutch Quakers of Krefeld *Germans* because of their residence in the Rhineland. For both the founders of Plymouth and of Germantown had retained their ancestral language and feeling of nationality in their new homes. Indeed, according to William Bradford, the contemporary historian of the Pilgrims, it was largely their anxiety lest their descendants should become Hollandized which caused them to emigrate from Holland—an anxiety which was realized in those of them who, like the Dutch Quaker Sewels and Jan Starter the Dutch poet, remained in the Netherlands. Perhaps it was a similar anxiety as to Germanization, as well as the religious persecution to which they were being subjected, which caused the Dutch Quakers of Krefeld to emigrate.

That the Dutch founders of Germantown retained their ancestral language, both in Krefeld and in Germantown, there is much evidence. The most interesting of this evidence is the Krefeld marriage certificate of 1681. I have taken pains to present as the frontispiece of my book a photograph of the original of this certificate, a transliteration of it from the seventeenth-century

script in which it was written (pp. 422-423), and a translation of it into English (pp. 207-209). My harshest critics do not deny that this certificate is written in genuine Dutch, nor can they gainsay that the bride and groom and nearly all of the seventeen persons who signed the certificate as witnesses of the marriage ceremony became the first settlers and founders of Germantown! Indeed, they included nearly all the members of the Krefeld Quaker meeting, which moved in a body across the Atlantic and maintained their meeting in Germantown.

Wilhelm Hubben, a good German and a good Quaker of Krefeld, seeking to break the strength of this piece of evidence, strangely says that "the very valuable marriage certificate in Dutch does not touch upon the argument in question"; and he suggests that this certificate may have originated outside of Krefeld. In support of this suggestion, he offers as an analogy his own membership certificate, which was written in English and granted to him in 1923 by London Yearly Meeting of Friends because of the lack of a Quaker Yearly Meeting in Germany. This however is a pure assumption, based not on evidence, but only on analogy; while the Krefeld certificate of 1681 mentions four times the Quaker meeting in Krefeld which not only sanctioned the marriage, but stated that the *procedure* was recorded in "the *Book of the meeting* of the aforementioned people," namely, "the people of God called Quakers in Krevell." [6]

The year before this marriage, a wave of persecution had broken over the Krefeld Quakers, and six of them had been exiled from the city. Two of these exiles wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the sheriff of the County of Meurs, and to the magistrates, clergy, and inhabitants of Krefeld, remonstrating against their treatment, and appealing for reinstatement as citizens in good standing. This pamphlet is printed in the *Dutch* language.[7]

[6] *Het welck dan ook also is aangetekent in het Boek van die vergadering der Voorschreŭen volcks—het Volck Godts in krevell Quakers genaemt.* Cf. also Hull, p. 204.

[7] *Vertoog aan den Baron de Kinski, Drossaart van Meurs, Als ook aan die van de Regeeringe, En aan De Ingesetenen van de Stad Krevel, Mitsgaders aan de Predikers van de zelve stad, die haar zelven veeltijds noemen Dienaars van de Gemeente,* Rotterdam and Amsterdam, 12mo, 8 pp., 1680. Cf. Hull, pp. 196-199.

A score of William Penn's appeals to the inhabitants of Holland and the Rhineland for Quakers and colonists were translated and printed mostly in Dutch pamphlets, and were doubtless circulated and read by the Dutch Quakers and others in Krefeld.[8] After the Krefelders settled in Germantown, also, they continued to use the Dutch language, in some of their public affairs, in writing to their home folks about the new settlement, and in their private conversations.[9] Early Germantown (from 1683 to 1709), before it was engulfed in the great wave of English and Germans, was Dutch, not only in its heredity and language, but also in various features of its culture.[10]

In view of its Dutch origins, the question naturally remains, Why then was it called *German*town, instead of *Dutch*town or New Krefeld? The answer which has been accepted for many recent years and restated by my German critics is that it was founded by a German, Francis Daniel Pastorius, who led a band of German settlers to it.

This legend has been embodied not only in literature, but also in two grandiose monuments recently erected to commemorate the event, one in Germantown and one in Krefeld. On these, *Germania* is glorified and Pastorius stands forth as the great leader of the settlement, while its real founders cluster behind him in comparative obscurity.[11] Pastorius was the scholar and literary man—and an excellent one he was—whom the Krefeld farmers and weavers made their spokesman in some public transactions, the teacher of their children, and the writer of their history; and his literary gifts made him prominent then and ever since: for much the same reason that caused the name of "America" to supplant that of "Columbia" for the New World.[12]

Now, there is no doubt that Pastorius was a German; and I tried to do full justice to him in my book for his efforts in behalf of German migration to Pennsylvania, and for the large part which he played in Penn's infant colony.[13] But I showed also that he himself did not settle in Germantown (with his household,

[8] Hull, pp. 308-318.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 180 f.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 215 f, 244 f, 248 f, 318.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-261 (which include photographs of the two monuments).
[13] *Ibid.*, *passim* (cf. Index).

who were chiefly *Dutch*!) until nearly two years after the Dutch Quakers from Krefeld had founded it. He lived meanwhile in Philadelphia, awaiting the arrival of the genuine German immigrants, chiefly from Frankfurt-am-Main, for whose company (the "German Society," 1683-85, and the "Frankfort Company," 1686-1700) he acted as agent.[14]

This company purchased (through Pastorius in London) 25,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, and Penn gave to 18,000 acres of it lying in a single tract the name of "New Franconia," in the expectation that the Frankfurt settlers would emulate the settlement of the Krefelders at Germantown. The Krefelders bought their Pennsylvania land in Rotterdam through Benjamin Furly and Jacob Telner, a Dutch Quaker of Krefeld,[15] in March and June, 1683, while the Frankfurters bought their first 15,000 acres in May and June, 1683; but the Krefelders arrived in Philadelphia and Germantown in October, 1683, while the Frankfurters did not come to Pennsylvania at all. Penn and Pastorius waited anxiously for the arrival of the latter until 1700, when they gave up all expectations of them. Pastorius then ceased to be their agent and threw in his lot permanently with the Dutch Quakers in Germantown. The name of "Frankford" still lingered (and does so yet) on the land reserved for the Germans not far from Germantown, which land Pastorius himself (when writing to its German proprietors) called "our own town of Frankford, about half an hour from Philadelphia." [16]

The Dutch founders of Germantown, like their lowly graves (unmarked, in accord with Quaker usage, by even the simplest of headstones), were soon lost in oblivion, or Germanized and Anglicized by the great immigration of Germans and English which overwhelmed them after 1709. But their names have been preserved in Dutch, German and English documents on both sides of the sea; and twenty-one pages of my book are devoted to a painstaking effort to trace the origins of all the 473 residents in Germantown from its settlement in 1683 until the German immigration in 1709. From this list, it appears that the great majority were of Dutch name and lineage.[17]

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 179-182.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 239-254 and *passim.*
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-184.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 400-420.

As to the contention of my Krefeld critic, Dr. D. Cattepoel [18]—quoted also by Wilhelm Hubben—that "the relationship [of German and Dutch cultures] comes exclusively from the fact that they are rooted in the great Lower-German Realm, in Low-German characteristics and language," I recognized the common origin of the Teutonic peoples (German, Dutch, and English) in my book, in which I said: [19] "It is true, of course, that in the low lands of northwest Germany the line of demarcation between the Low German (*Plattdeutsch*) and the Dutch peoples and languages (*Hollandsch*) had been for centuries far from being sharply defined. But by the end of the Seventeenth Century, a hundred and fifty years after Martin Luther's Bible and hymns had given enormous impulse to the fusion of all the German dialects into Modern High German, the distinction between the low German and the Dutch was well established. Hence, the appearance of Dutch names in these Low German lands, as in the Rhineland, was not due to the survival of primordial types, but to the spread of the Dutch people and language"—for fishing, horticulture, handicrafts, and trade.[20]

In face of the evidence briefly summarized above—geographical, political, cultural, and especially linguistic—how can any one reject the conclusion that Germantown was founded, not by Germans, but by Dutch? To set this conclusion aside, there must be forthcoming the light of adequate evidence, and not personal or nationalistic prejudice, nor the heat of controversy.

[18] An article in *Die Heimat*, published in Krefeld (Rhein), No. 3, 1937, p. 122 ff.

[19] Hull, *ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

[20] Wilhelm Hubben remarks that "the Quakers from Kriegsheim [Krisheim] and Danzig and the visits of Friends to Friends of the Quakers in other parts of Germany were included [in my book] who could not by any possibility have been Dutch"; this was not only a possibility, but a reality, as the evidence in my book also shows; but that is another story.

The long debated question as to whether Germantown's founders were Mennonites or Quakers is answered by my book in favor of the Quakers; but this, too, is another story.

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Compiled by Anna B. Hewitt

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CONSTITUTION OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

As of Twelfth Month 1, 1938

Historical Preamble, 1924

Friends' Historical Association was founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873, adopted its Constitution First Month 8, 1874, and was incorporated Ninth Month 25, 1875. Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1904, and was merged into the older Association in Twelfth Month, 1923. The following Constitution, based upon that of 1874, with certain modifications chiefly from the Constitution of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, is now agreed upon and adopted, Fourth Month 2, 1924.

Original Preamble, 1874

"Believing that the Society of Friends has been and is potential for good and that necessity exists to create a Repository for such Books, Manuscripts, or other material as may be secured, wherewith to Elucidate its History; and realizing the importance of social intercourse in enlarging our sympathies, and creating an incentive to action in Kindred pursuits, the undersigned, for the purposes above set forth, do form ourselves into a Society to be known by the name and title of 'Friends' Historical Association'."

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this Association shall be Friends' Historical Association.

ARTICLE II

Objects

The objects of the Association shall be to collect, preserve, and publish manuscripts and other materials bearing upon the history of the Society of Friends, or Quakers; to encourage and promote among its members historical reading, research, and writing in this field; to hold meetings, make historical pilgrimages, preserve and mark places and objects of special significance in Quaker history; and to coöperate with other individuals and organizations along these lines.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Any person interested in the objects of the Association is eligible for membership and may be elected thereto by a majority vote at any meeting of the Directors, or with the approval of the Secretary and one other member of the Association.

Honorary or Corresponding Members may be elected to the Association. Honorary membership shall be reserved for those who have done notable research work in the field of history, preferably in the history of the Society of Friends. Honorary and Corresponding Members shall have all the privileges of membership except voting, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

ARTICLE IV

Directors and Officers

The fourteen Directors prescribed by the Charter shall be elected annually and they in turn shall elect annually from their number a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall serve as the officers alike of the Association and of the Directors. The Directors may fill vacancies in their number.

In addition to the regular officers as above, the Directors are empowered, as they see fit, to elect Honorary Officers from the membership of the Association.

ARTICLE V

Funds

All life membership dues, legacies, bequests, amounts oversubscribed to special funds, and such funds or other amounts as may from time to time be so appropriated by the Directors, shall constitute a Permanent Fund, to be kept invested, and the income therefrom to be used for the general purposes of the Association.

The principal of the Permanent Fund may be appropriated for

other purposes of a substantial and permanent character, if such appropriation is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of Directors, after one month's prior notice in writing stating the specific purposes proposed.

ARTICLE VI

Seal

The Seal of the Association shall be as impressed in the margin of this Constitution.

ARTICLE VII

By-Laws

The details of the management of the Association shall be provided for in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Association, provided that a notice of the intended amendment shall be given in writing, through the Directors to the members, two months in advance.

BY-LAWS OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ARTICLE I

Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Second-day of the Eleventh Month, at such place and hour as the Directors may decide. Other meetings of the Association may be called by the Directors or the President upon due notice.

ARTICLE II

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes
2. Report of Treasurer
3. Report of Standing Committees
4. Report of Special Committees
5. Unfinished Business
6. New Business

ARTICLE III

Nominating Committee

At the first meeting of the Directors in each calendar year the President shall appoint a committee of five members to nominate Directors to the next annual meeting. Other nominations may be presented over the signatures of three members at any Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE IV

Annual Dues

The minimum annual dues shall be two dollars, and the payment of $50.00 by a member shall entitle such member to life membership. Membership shall cease upon written resignation, or upon due notice by the Secretary after the nonpayment of dues for three successive years.

ARTICLE V

Directors' Meetings

Stated meetings of the Directors shall be held on the second Sixth-day in the First, Fourth, and Tenth Months. Special meetings may be held at the call of the President, or upon the request of three Directors. Five Directors shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VI

Committees

The President shall appoint the committees of the Association, among which shall be the following standing committees:

1. Committee on Finance, to consist of three members, who with the Treasurer shall collect and control the income and disbursements of the Association, and shall have the custody of the Permanent Fund and securities comprising it.
2. Committee on Historical Research
3. Publication Committee
4. Membership Committee
5. Entertainment Committee
6. Sites and Relics Committee

ARTICLE VII

Curator

The Directors shall be empowered to appoint a Curator for the custody of the collections of the Association.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

Amendments to these By-Laws may be adopted at any meeting of the Directors, by a majority vote of those present, due notice of the proposed amendment having been given at least one month previously.

BOOK REVIEW

The Testimony of the Soul. By Rufus M. Jones. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936. vi + 215 pp. $2.00.

IN THE Ayer Lectures, delivered at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School in 1935-36, which form the basis for this book, *The Testimony of the Soul*, Rufus Jones was speaking not primarily to Friends but to all Seekers who would find a way out of the dilemma in which religion today is caught. In former "battle epochs" the struggle was between a higher and a lower form of religion, between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Today "the religious attitude itself is challenged. . . . The validity of a spiritual outlook of any kind is put in jeopardy." The very word "soul" has become "bedraggled," and religion is regarded by increasing numbers of both the thoughtful and the sheeplike as an "opiate."

Rufus Jones does not overlook the discoveries of science nor evade the issues raised by them, but he points out that when science has explained it all, when biology, when psychology, when history, when physics have described the universe and reduced it to a chart and a formula, there is still an unexplored remainder of "a rare quintessance of richness and worth." It is this overplus, this remainder, that is the soul's testimony.

What has become of the "lost radiance" of Christianity? How are we to find our way back to the central sources of life and inspiration? What central philosophy gives us ground for believing that there is a sphere of spiritual reality in the very foundation of man's being? Where does "ought" come from? What is the soul? What are the methods and results of the "mutual and reciprocal correspondence and co-operation with God" that we call the mystical experience? These are some of the searching questions that are probed and answered in the *Testimony of the Soul.*

The word *mysticism* has fallen into disrepute, partly because of its connection with the mystery religions of Greece, partly because of the classical mystics' insistence upon the *via negativa* of ecstasy and negation of the human personality, and partly because of the psychic phenomena of trance and "possession" long associated with it. As it is too late to coin another word, the old one must be "disinfected," or, better, "sublimated to higher uses." Down through the history of mysticism from St. Paul and St. John to George Fox there has always been an affirmative type of mysticism opposed to the negative type, though indeed some of

the greatest mystics, such as St. Teresa, embodied both types. The affirmative type, as opposed to the negative way of abstraction and ecstasy, is "the heightened normal type of revelation through enriched personality." "I am eager," Rufus Jones says, "to have the word mysticism widened out in meaning to include this milder and more normal correspondence of the soul with God."

The test of mystical experience is the fruit it bears, the increased integration of personality and the "soul-force" thus released. "It is no accident that the two most powerful trends of present-day Christianity are a fresh revival of mysticism and an awakened passion to carry Christianity into the fabric and tissue of the social life of humanity."

The Testimony of the Soul is written with the humanness and radiance that we have learned to look for and depend upon in Rufus Jones's writings, and with a simplicity and clarity rare in books which cover so wide a range of history and philosophy.

ELIZABETH GRAY VINING.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

The Friend (Philadelphia)

SIXTH Month 30, 1938, pp. 477-486. "The Trial of William Penn," by Elizabeth Janet Gray (Elizabeth Gray Vining), gives a vivid account of the famous trial of 1670, which began as an ordinary arraignment of Quakers for preaching in violation of the Conventicle Act and ended as a historic event in the establishment of the right of trial by jury.

Eighth Month 25, 1838, pp. 53-55. What would once have been called a "memorial" on Joseph Rhoads (1857-1936) is contributed by M. Elizabeth Whitacre. Joseph Rhoads was born at Marple, Springfield Township, near Philadelphia. He was student and teacher at both Westtown School and Haverford College, and later went into business. He was a recognized minister of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and, in his later life, a resident of Moylan, Pennsylvania, and a leading member of Springfield Meeting.

Sixth Month 30, 1938, pp. 505-506. Plans for marking the site of the Westland Meeting House, near Centerville, Washington County, Pennsylvania, are reported by Ezra K. Maxfield. Westland Monthly Meeting was established in 1782, and its meeting house was the first Friends' meeting house west of the Allegheny mountains.

The Friend (London)

OCTOBER 21, 1938, pp. 906-907. Arthur Rowntree writes of Joseph Lancaster, on the centenary of the death of this educational pioneer. Lancaster was a Friend and was supported by Friends in his monitorial schools, although his inability to manage his financial affairs brought

about his eventual disownment from the Society. He is remembered, however, for his enthusiastic advocacy of a broad popular base for education.

October 7, 1938, p. 861. A summary of Benjamin West's career is given by J. W. Harvey Theobald in connection with the bicentenary of the "Quaker" artist's birth on October 10, 1738. On the preceding page is a list of "Benjamin Wests" in London.

NOTES

THE Chester County Historical Society, whose new home was reported in the last issue of the BULLETIN (27 (1938): 50), has continued to expand. A circular published shortly after October 1, 1938, gives the increase in membership during the preceding two and a half years from 303 to 501, and tells of the progress of renovating and rebuilding Memorial Hall, in West Chester, to make it meet the Society's needs. The following is quoted from its appeal for new funds and new interested members:

Upon the establishment of the Society in its new home, the enormous task of arranging the exhibits in appropriate cases; hanging historic portraits and maps; marking individual items, besides filing and classifying the documentary collection so that it would be available to research workers, was undertaken and accomplished in a phenomenally short time by the staff of workers, many of whom volunteered their services, under the direction of the Librarian and Curators. The arranging of the Early American Industries exhibit in the basement was carried to its supremely interesting completion by the generous and unselfish effort of certain members, to whom not only the Society but also the County owes a tremendous debt of gratitude.

The promise made to the citizens of Chester County that the Chester County Historical Society should be truly a County Educational Institution was fulfilled by the immediate opening of the museum of the Society to the public at stated hours each week day, and the arrangement of special evenings for the private viewing of the collection by various organizations. The school children of the County also were encouraged to visit the museum, while volunteer hostesses devoted many hours of time to welcoming and escorting the visitors. The museum has been visited by people from thirty States and its work has been praised far and wide as evidenced by letters from all parts of the nation.

As a result of these activities, the scope of usefulness of the Society in Chester County has been increased beyond the expectations of even the most enthusiastic members, as indicated by the donations of valuable historical material by interested friends; by the multitude of requests for information regarding Chester County history from persons living in distant parts; by the steady flow of small contributions from citizens of moderate means and by enormous numbers of requests for speakers from organizations throughout the County to explain to the members of those organizations the work of the Society.

AN IMPORTANT book which makes original sources available is *Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware,* vol. ii, *1681-1699. Land and Probate Abstract Only.* It is edited by Albert Cook Myers and published by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust

Street, Philadelphia, 1935; 8vo, iv + 254 pp.; illustrated. $10.00. Of this book, 500 numbered copies were printed, of which 300 were sent to the members of the Society, leaving 200 copies for sale. Twenty-five copies with the imprint of The Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, Delaware, were also issued. The frontispiece is a half tone of a page of the manuscript record referring to the first American arrival of William Penn in 1682.

The original minutes of the Court for the period have disappeared. All that survives is a manuscript volume of items respecting land titles, probate proceedings, etc., made by Delaware in 1770. The present printing is from this record.

The first volume of *Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware, 1676-1681,* was published with some unindicated omissions, by the Colonial Society, in 1904, in an edition of 200 numbered copies.

PHILADELPHIA Monthly Meeting, on 4 mo. 4, 1811, appointed "a committee to take the subject [of establishing another meeting within the city] under solid consideration"; and on 4 mo. 27, 1938, the members of Twelfth Street Meeting, properly called Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for the Western District, celebrated, though a year late, the 125th anniversary of the building of the new meeting house in 1812. The celebration included a large gathering of members and former members, a pageant of Quaker characters and Quaker costumes planned and executed by Eleanor May Price, assisted by Sara M. Longstreth, and a number of historical and reminiscent addresses. The Meeting has published a sixteen-page illustrated booklet in commemoration of the event.

A PAMPHLET record of the founding of the Yonge Street meetings in York County, Canada, on the road between Toronto and Lake Simcoe (then called Lake aux Claies) has been prepared by Ethel Willson Trewhella, of Aurora, Ontario, whose Quaker ancestors came to this region in the early days. The meeting was established in 1804, "agreeable to a minute of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in the fourth month, 1804, granting and establishing a meeting for worship, and also a preparative meeting at Yonge Street"; the present meeting house was built 1808-10. The pamphlet lists the names of many of the early members, the clerks from 1806 to 1861, and the "intentions of marriage" from 1804 to 1855.

CERTAIN documents relating to the Harvey family of Merion, Pennsylvania, have been printed in an illustrated pamphlet bearing the title *Leaves from the Past*, arranged by Dora Harvey Develin, and printed by Winston's, in Philadelphia [1937]. There is a brief record of the family in England and Ireland from the time of William the Conqueror to the time when Edward Harvey came to Lower Merion, where he married Margaret Boyle on 6 mo. 16, 1808; and of two generations since

then. Several interesting letters are printed, with portraits, reproductions, a picture of Lower Merion Friends' Meeting House, erected in 1695, and a picture of the Harvey Homestead in Merion, erected in 1700.

AN ARTICLE by Frederick D. Tolles, entitled "Emerson and Quakerism," in vol. 10 (1938), no. 2 of *American Literature,* pp. 142-165, has been reprinted by the Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia. It is based on a study of Emerson's journals and more formal works, and points out that Emerson knew and studied Quaker writings, especially Sewel's *History,* Tuke's *Memoirs of the Life of Fox,* Clarkson's *Life of William Penn,* and Woolman's *Journal,* and that he admired various Friends, including Lucretia Mott and Mary Rotch.

THE TRUSTEES of the John Greenleaf Whittier Homestead, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, have printed a mimeographed descriptive catalog of rare Whittierana at the Whittier Homestead, on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the building of the Homestead itself. The catalog is preceded by a brief history of the house in which Whittier was born; and lists items on exhibition on October 1 and 2, 1938. The twenty pages of the catalog give many interesting biographical and bibliographical notes about Whittier's best known poems and volumes of poems.

BRIEFER NOTES

THE *Year Book* of the Dutchess County Historical Society for 1936 contains an article on "Our Palatine Ancestors" by Helen Reed de Laporte; "The North Boundary Line of Dutchess County" by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds; and "Events on Hudson's River in 1777." As a supplement the society has printed extracts from the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of 1779 held at the brick Quaker Meeting House at Oblong, N. Y.

Dealing with one of the antecedents of New England Quakerism is an article in the *New England Quarterly,* XXX (1937), 000, by Edmund S. Morgan: *The Case against Anne Hutchinson.*

Robert P. Falk writing in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History,* 62 (1938), 52-63 on the alternative *Thomas Paine—Deist or Quaker?* asserts that his socialism was more important than his individualism, and that for his social ideals he was mainly indebted to Quakerism.

Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement, by Ruth Anna Ketring, is a monograph published at Columbus by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society in 1937. In less than one hundred pages she follows the career of the North Carolina Friend who in organizing manumission societies in Tennessee and founding *The Philanthropist* in 1817 became "the first impulse in a long train of anti-slavery activity."

We are indebted to Dean J. E. Pomfret for two articles in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 61 (1937), in which are published with comments two very rare papers by or about Edward Byllynge. The first (pp. 88-92) is a printed letter of 1681 in which he offers 100,000 acres of New Jersey land to indigent Friends. The second (pp. 325-331) reproduces an imperfect copy of Thomas Budd's "True and Perfect Account of Byllynge's Proprieties in West Jersey, 1685." No perfect copy is known.

A publisher of Friends' books, and closely in touch with Friends at Philadelphia, if not actually a member, Samuel Kenner deserves the fresh study devoted to him in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 61 (1937), pp. 357-386), written by C. Lennart Carlson of Colby College.

English and American Friends figure conspicuously in two studies in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 60 (1936), by Michael Kraus. They are *Slavery Reform in the Eighteenth Century: An Aspect of Transatlantic Intellectual Coöperation* (pp. 53-66) and *Eighteenth Century Humanitarianism: Collaboration between Europe and America* (pp. 270-286).

A general account of *The Society of Friends in Maryland* was contributed by D. L. Thornbury to *The Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (1934), 101-115.

An account of Friends' vicissitudes in England under the Conventicle Act of 1664 is given by W. R. Hughes in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 243 (January, 1938) pp. 82-95, under the caption *Captain May's Passengers.*

In *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (1932), pp. 204-218, will be found an account of work done in 1869-1878 by *The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa Comanche and Wichita Indian Reservation.* The author is Martha Buntin.

Gulielma Maria Springett, First Wife of William Penn is the subject of an article by M. Atherton Leach in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 57 (1933), 97-116.

Dr. Thomas E. Drake deals with *Quakers in Minnesota* in *Minnesota History*, XVIII (1937), 249-266.

In *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1933), 134-143, F. Harold Young edits parts of the diary for 1865 to 1876 of *William Hobson, Quaker Missionary*, who established the first permanent settlement of Friends in Oregon at Newberg.

Professor R. E. E. Harkness, writing of the colonial period, contributed to *Church History*, II (1933), 227-242, an article on *Early Relations of Baptists and Quakers.*

In *William Penn and Pastorius* (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 57 (1933), 66-90) Beatrice Pastorius Turner treats of the importance for the German migration to America of these two Friends and of their friendship to each other.

In the *Bulletin of the Garden Club of America*, 5th series, no. 5, pp. 6-16, Rachel M. M. Hunt writes on *William Penn—Horticulturist.*

An article on *Quaker Efforts to Secure Civil and Religious Liberty, 1660-1696* was published by E. W. Kirby in *Journal of Modern History*, VII (1935), 401-421. It analyzes the changing policy with regard to political efforts on the part of English Friends from the Restoration until the contest on Affirmation.

Dean Wilbur H. Siebert has published a survey of *Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record* (Spahr & Glenn Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1937, $2.75, 113 pp.). The activity of Henry Miles and other Friends in northern Vermont is hardly mentioned.

FRIENDS · HISTORICAL · ASSOCIATION
1873